291

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

On a visit to an American Aircraft Carrier. *Left to right* : H.E. Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.I.E., H.E. Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.B.E. ; H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain ; Sir Charles Belgrave, K.B.E., Adviser to the Bahrain Government, and the Captain.

Photo :
Official Photograph U.S. Navy.

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

WEAVING

288 438 ●291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

204 In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

217 There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

291 Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

HOTELS

485 366 There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192(-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

369 178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

●291 177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

352 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

101 795 565 463 177

indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

101 565

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

291

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.[6]

795 463

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

578 565 795

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

000

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

[6] Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926–1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

1/4 [i.e. the Shi'is -- need, it]